1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

692 [186] that thefts and like petty crimes increased as mutual responsibility diminished. The increasing complication of tasks and manners of livelihood led to disputes and injustices. In a nation of warriors skilled in arms, personal animosity flared up into bloodshed. Thus the tribunals mentioned had to be set up to exercise their jurisdiction in affairs of clan and tribe and to reinforce the powerful influences of public approval and disapproval. (See Plates 35, 41.)

688 775 Religious crimes, like blasphemy or robbing temples, were rare, for the disfavor of the gods brought disaster on the community and on the individual as well. Religion, however, did not enter into the field of ethics, and no post-mortem punishment awaited the sinner. Special heavens existed for warriors and for women who died in childbirth and for people who died in certain specified ways, but this belief had to do with the favor of particular gods. It was not a carefully defined system of rewards and punishment.

681 Restitution for the sinned-against was the chief basis of dealing with antisocial acts, in contrast to our pattern of punishing the sinner. Exile or death was the lot of the evildoer who endangered the community. A random sampling of crimes and punishment will show the tenor of Aztec law and why it was never necessary to resort to imprisonment as a means of enforcing expiation of a crime. Cages or detention pens, however, were used to confine prisoners before trial or sacrifice. (See Plate 34.)

685 Theft was punished either by slavery until restitution was made or by a fine of double the amount stolen, one part to the robbed, the other to the clan treasury. Highway robbery received the death penalty, and pilfering in the market place meant instant death by stoning, since that petty crime mili-

3: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1951 NU7 Aztec NU7

The sixth month they called Ezzalqualiztli. On the first day of this month they observed a feast to the rain gods. In honor of these gods, the priests of these gods fasted before their feast came for four days, which are the four last days of the previous month.

Al sexto mes llamauan Ezzalqualiztli: en el primero dia deste mes: hazian fiesta a los dioses de là pluuja: a honrra destos dioses, ayunauã los sacerdotes destos dioses: quatro dias antes de llegar a su fiesta, que son los quatro postreros dias del mes pasado.

Chapter 6
Ezzalqualiztli

In order to celebrate this feast, the priests and servants of the idols went to Cilialtepec for reeds; for they grew very large and handsome in the waters called Temilco. From there they brought them to Mexico to adorn the pyramids. On the road which they took, no one appeared; all wayfarers hid themselves, for fear of them. And if they came upon one, they took from him whatever he had, even leaving him naked. And if he resisted, they belabored him such that they left him for dead. And even if he bore tribute for Moctezuma, they took it from him. And for this they visited upon them no punishment; because, since they were servants of the idols, they had license to do these things, and others [even] worse, with no punishment. Many other ceremonies the priests of the temple performed in these four days, which are put forth at length in the account of the feast.

On the arrival of the feast of Ezzalqualiztli, everyone made a kind of gruel or porridge which is called *etzalli* (a delicious food, which they liked well). All ate in their houses, and gave [of it] to those who came, and did a thousand follies on this day.

On this same feast, they punished terribly servants of the idols guilty of committing some fault in their service; [they mishandled] them in the water of the lagoon in such a point that they left them for dead. And thus they left them there at the edge of the water. From there their parents or relatives took them and carried them to their houses, half dead.

On this same feast they slew many captives and

1. Marginal notation: *Fiesta de diez cue.*

Cap. 6.
Ezzalqualiztli.

Para la celebracion desta fiesta: los ãtrapas de los ydolos y sus ministros, yrã por juncas a Cialtepec: que se hazẽ muy grãdes y muy hermosas en vn agua que se llama temjico, de allí las trayan a Mexico: para adornar los cues, por el camjno donde venjã, nadie parecia: todos los camjnãtes se ascondian de miedo destos, y si con alguno encõtrauã: tomauãle quãto trayа hasta dexalle en pelo, y si se defendia: maltratauãle de tal manera q̃ le dexauã por muerto: y aunque lleuasse el tributo para Motecuçoma se le tomauan: y por esto ninguna pena tan dauã: porque por ser ministros de los ydolos, tenjã libertad para hazer estas cosas, y otras peores sin pena ninguna. Otras muchas ceremonjas hazian los sacrapas del templo en estos quatro dias que estan à la larga puestas en la historia desta fiesta.

Allegada la fiesta de Ezzalqualiztli: todos haziã vna manera de puchàs o polcadas que se llama Ezzalli (comjda delicada a su gusto) todos comjan en su casa, y dauan a los que venjan, y hazian mjll locuras en este dia.

En esta mesma fiesta, a los ministros de los ydolos que avian hecho algun defecto en el seruicio dellos: castigauanlos terriblemẽte en el agua de la laguna tãto que los dexauã por muertos: y assi los dexauã allí a la orilla del agua: de allí los tomauã sus padres o parientes, y los lleuauã a sus casas medio muertos.

En este mjsmo mes matauã muchos cautiuos y otros

Category 688-712

NU7 Aztec
Card 043

fire-serpent earplugs; he carried a cape of yellow paper. Likewise he had rattles and sea-shells. His shield had pieces of turquoise and mirror-stone. He carried the staff with the device for seeing.

776

Fourteenth Chapter, which telleth of the god named Five Flower (Macuilxochitl) and Flower Prince (Xochipilli).

Equally were they worshipped as gods of the palace folk. When people fasted, if one of us men lay with a woman, or a woman with a man, it was said: "They brought to naught their fasting through sin."

Thereupon [the god] gave them, as merited punishment, haemorrhoids, venereal sickness, boils, and piles.[72]

Therefore they would make vows to him, in order to quiet, remove, or abate the sickness.

And when his feast, which was called the Feast of the Flowers, was celebrated, first all fasted four days. Some fasted thus: they ate no *chili*, [and ate only] after midday, only once [a day]. Some went at midnight, and drank a gruel called "painted *atolli*," on which small flowers floated. [This was] "the fast of the flowers."

All who ate good things ate them only at midday. And some ate only one thing—*tortillas* of corn not softened by lime,[73] without *chili*; [this] also [they did] at midday.

On the fifth day, which was when the feast was celebrated, a man became the likeness [of the god], arrayed in [his] clothing, in which he danced; they beat the drum and sang for him.

And at midday, quail were sacrificed. All drew blood, passing straws through the tongue; and they laid as offerings in his temple, five *tamales* which they had made for him. These were called [bread for] fasting, [and were] very large. On them stood the flowery arrow.

Some thus offered their offering upon wooden plates, and followed it with five more small *tamales* with a sauce, and others [offered] two cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize—one black, one red,—[instead of offerings of] rubber laid in wooden bowls.

And some [brought] toasted corn, or toasted corn mixed in honey; or S-shaped corn-cakes which were like notched staves or lightning-bolts; [or] butterfly-*tortillas*, *tortillas* of ground corn which had not been softened in lime; cakes made of a dough of amaranth seed and maize, and shaped like shields, arrows, swords, and dolls.

And here, to Mexico, from everywhere, were brought captives, called "tribute-captives," [from] all warlike [places]

Jnic matlactli vnnávi capitulo: *itechpa tlatoa in teutl, yn itoca:* macuilxochitl, yoan xochipilli.

Çan nenenuhque, ynjc netentilôia tecpantzinca intenuh:
yn jquac neçaujlôia, intla aca toqujchti ipan cioacochiz, anoço cioatl, ipan oqujchcochiz: mjtoaia, quintlaçolmjctia yn jnteçaoaliz,
ic quitemacaia, tetech qujtlaliaia, qujtelhujltiaia, qujtemacuiltiaia, in xochiciuiztli; yn menexoaliztli, tlapalanaltiliztli, quexiliuiliztli,
yuicpa netolôa, nenetoltiloia, ynjc qujceuiz, ynjc qujquaniz ynjc qujcaxaoaz, cuculiztli.
Auh yn jquac ilhujqujxtililoia, ipan xochilhujtl: achtopa nauilhujtl nexochiçaoalo: in cequjntin ic moçaoaia, chilcaoaia, qujnnepantla tonatiuh, in tlaquaia, centlaquaia, ioalnepantla qujmattiuh, tlacujlolatulli in qujia, xochitontli yn ipan ca, monochiçaoa:

776
688
763
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264

muchi qujqua in velic, çan no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh. Auh yn aca çan qujxcaviaia, in iotlaxcalli qujquaia, atle chilli: no nepantla tonatiuh qujmattiuh:
yc tlamacujlti yn jlhujqujxtililoia, iquac ez tlacatl qujmixiptlatiaia, conmaqujaia yn jtlatqui, ipan mjtoaia, qujtlatuotzonjliaia, qujcujcatiaia:

yoan in ie nepantla tonatiuh, tlacotonaloia, neçuoaia, tlacoqujxtiloia: yeã tlamanjlilôia yn jxcupan, macujlteel in qujchiujliaia, tamalli: mjtoaia tlacatlaqualli, cenca vevey ipan ycatiuh xuchmjtl:

785

yn aca quauhcaxitl ynjc conmanjliaia, yoan contoquiliaia oc no macuiltetl tamaltepitoton, mollotiuja: yoan vntetl tzoalli yiol poujia, no cecnj quauhcactica, mantivia, centetl tlilticatl, centetl tlatlauhqui.

776
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262
796

Auh yn aca izquitl, anoço necuzquitl, anoço xonecujlli, papalotlaxcalli, iotlaxcalli, tzoçallaxcalli, tzoçalchimalli, tzoçalmjtl, tzoçalmaquaujtl, tzoçalnenetl:

yoan noujian oalcanaloia, in mamalti ajcan mexica, motenoca maltequjme, yn jxquich techiaoalotoc, yn

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727

ome quauhcuahuacpilli—two arrow shafts or wooden dolls, projecting forward above the frontal head on the side of the temples and exhibiting the *ome acatl* ("2 reed") or the *matlalhuacpilli* (fire-drill) (see illus.). *Editor: The Tovalmatl of the Aubin Collection*, p. 75. *Tlaxotzoyan*, in the Aztec text, should probably be *tlaxochcoyan*.

72. Corresponding Spanish text reads: "*bubas, con enfermedades, de las partes secretas, . . . almorranas, podredumbre del miembro secreto, diviesos, sarnosos, etc.*"

73. In corresponding Spanish text "*pure cenizas.*"

leapt about. And the priests also danced. It was called "the leap in the month of Toxcatl."[17]

There were paper rosettes fastened upon [the priests'] foreheads; they decked their heads with white feathers. And they smeared honey on their lips; their lips were gleaming. They had paper breechclouts. And their black feathered staves had jackdaw feathers in the form of a cup, and a round ball at the base, also of black feathers. The black feathered staves also were called black rain-bird [staves].[18]

And where they went grasping [the staves] were papers painted with black scroll designs. And these [priests], as they danced, made circles with, and struck, their black feathered staves on the ground.

And only in the tribal temples were those who beat the drums for them, seated upon the ground. They beat the upright drums; they sat beating gourd rattles; they sat rattling gourd rattles and beating turtle shells.

And all the masters of the youths, the young seasoned warriors, and the youths were spread out, dancing elsewhere [a dance] called the serpent dance.

And hence [they named what] was danced a serpent dance, because they moved back and forth, and from side to side, and met each other face to face. They went holding each other's hands as they danced.

And also a number of young women danced, having so vowed, a popcorn dance. As thick as tassels of maize were their popcorn garlands. And these they placed upon [the girls'] heads. And they were painted; down to the thighs were they bedecked with feathers. And [these] reached up to their upper arms. And they went mingling with and among those who danced.

Of these, it was said that they embraced, they embraced one; they embraced Uitzilopochtli.

And these girls were very well guarded, that none might covet them, nor ravish them.

And all who danced the serpent dance were well watched, that none might fall into covetousness.

And if anyone were seen seducing one [of the girls], then the masters of the youths threw him to the ground. They dragged him; they stepped upon him as he lay stretched out; they trampled upon him.

chocholotimanj: auh in tlamacazque no mjhtoia, mitos toxcachocholoa:

amaixquastechimaletimanj, amaixquastechimaleque, moquaquapotonja iztac totolivitica: yoan motetennecuvia tetentzotlantiuj, ynamamaxtli, yoan intzatzanatopil, tzanaivitl, in iuhquj ytecomaio, auh yn itzinteloloio, çan no tzanaivitl: no motocaiotia ycujtlacuchcho, in tzanatopilli.

Auh ynjc quitzitzqujtiuj, amatl acazilquj, ynjc tlacujlolli: auh in ichoantin, hin, ynjc mjtoia, tlaiaoloa, ic tlaxixiltiuj yn intzanatopal:

auh çan calpulco, in quintlatzotzonjliaia, çan cacatè cheoxticate: çan tlalpan veuetl in quitzotzona, aiacachotoque, aiacachquetztoque, aiotl quitzotzona, aiuujtectoque, aiochiuhtoque.

Auh yn izqujch teachcaoan, in telpuchtequjoaque, yoan in telpopuchti, cecnj manj in mjtoia, motenteoa mococolloa.

Auh ynjc mjhtoia mococolloa, ichica aujc viujh, ixtlapal viuj, mjxnanamiquj, in matitech maantiujh ynjc mjtoia.

Auh no cequjntin cioa ichpopuchti, mjtoia innetol, momomochiitoia: centzontecomatl ynjc tomaoc catca, ynmomochiiuhquj, yoan ymicpac contecatiuj, motaoa, yoan in metztomaoaian aci, ynjc mopotonja, yoi ymacolpan onacia: intlan mamantiuj, intzatzalan mantiuj, in mjtoia.

In ichoantin hin, motenteoa tlanaoa, tenaoa, qujnaoa in vitzilopuchtli:

auh in ichoantin ichpopuchti, cenca vel pialoia, ynjc aiac quimjxeleuiz, ynjc aiac quincamanalhuiz.

Auh yn izquichtin yn mococolloa, vel mopiaia ynjc aiac vncan moleuiz:

auh intla aca itto, tecamanalhuja: ,njmã tlalli ic qujujtequj, in teachcaoan, quinujujlana, quintitilieça, quimiicça:

17. Corresponding Spanish text: *"salue o bayler de la fiesta de toxcatl"*; Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 298) translates *toxcachocholoya* as *"se salta al estilo de Tolcatl."*

18. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies only black feathers; cf., however, Kobredo edition, Vol. III, pp. 142-3 and 187. The last-mentioned reference to *tzanatopil* is: *"Hay otra asta que se llama tzalcatl; es negra y tiene el pico corvo."* Seler (*op. cit.*, p. 196, n. 2) calls *tzanatl* jackdaw or daw; or (*ibid.*, p. 233) *tzatl* thrush. Of this and of *tzalcuacuchcho* he says: it is *"ein Vogel, der gegen Ende der Regenzeit sich hören läßt und dessen Schrei, nach dem Glauben der Mexikaner, Landregen verkündete zeiller. Ich habe den Namen dieses Vogels deshalb mit 'Regenpfeifer' übersetzt. Es wird wohl ein Vogel mit ähnlichem schnarrenden Geschrei gemeint sein wie der der tzanatl oder Dohle."* Sahagún (*loc. cit.*) merely explains: *"a que llamauan tzalcuacuchcho, por razon de la lluvia, que llamauan chuuia, era el verano."* See also *supra*, p. 44.

For he had committed a crime in the temple; for he had done a wrong. They said to him: "Verily, here penitence is done; here a feast is held."

And as night fell during the dance, so closed the day of feasting when the day ended.

And next morning, when [the feast] was over, again there was dancing. Again all danced the serpent dance.

And [this day] died Ixteucale,[19] he who had lived together with Titlacauan. And him they also named Tlacauepan,[20] and Teicauhtzin.

And his paper raiment was painted with black discs. On his paper crown were eagle feathers. His headdress hung in disorder. Upon the crown of his head rested a flint knife made of red feathers.

And also he had his network cape; over it hung a small net bag; and his [ornament like a priest's] maniple hung from his arm. It was of the skin of a wild beast. He fastened shells [to his legs]. He danced with the others; he danced the serpent dance. He went first in line guiding the others.

And purely of his free will, when he wished, he would die. When he wished, then he delivered himself to the place where he would die.

Priests called *tlatlacamiâlti* seized him, stretched him out [on the sacrificial stone], held him, and cut open his breast. His heart they lifted up as an offering to the sun.

And his head also they strung on the skull rack. So he came to his end, even as Titlacauan, [whose head was] strung [on the skull rack].

And at this time, the priests cut the skin: with a stone knife they cut the skin of youths, young boys, and even small children yet lying in their cradles. Thus they cut the skin of their stomachs, their breasts, both upper arms, and [both] forearms.

This was done only at the time of [the feast of] Toxcatl, when it ended, each year; [and] thus ended [the feast].

ichica in qujnmjctiaia ca teupan, ca tlaujlqujztia, quimjlhuja: ca vncan tlamaceoalo, vncan ilhujtlalo. 796r [684 688]

çan iuh oniooa in netotilo, io entlamj in cemilhujtl, in ontzonquiz ilhujtl.

Auh yn jmuztlaioc, in apeoalco no netotilo, no necocololo:

auh iquac mjquj, yn Jxteucale, ynin necan onenca Titlacaoan: auh ynjn no motocaiotia, tlacavepâ, yoan Tehicauhtzin. 796r 293

Auh ynjc tlacujlolli, yn jamatlatquj, tetzcapocio yn jamacal, quabujujio, momoiaoa yn jviztzoncal: tecpatl iquanepantla icatiuh, tlapalihujtl ynic tlachicualli:

yoan no ycuechin, icampa vetztiuh, icpatoxi, yoan imatacax imac pilcatiuh, tequanecoatl, oiocalli contlalitiuh, teboan mjhtotia, mococolo, teiacantinemj, teiacac ycatinemj.

Auh çan iillotlama, in quenman miquiz, in quênman connequiz, yn oqujnec, njman ie ic onmotemaca, yn vncan mjquiz: 796r

qujoalana in tlamacazque, motocaiotia, tlatlacaoalti, quititilinja, caana, quehtetequj: yn iiollo conjaujlia in tonatiuh:

auh yn itzontecon, çan no tzompatitech conquaubço, çan no iuh tlantica yn iuh quaubçotica titlacaoan.

Auh çan no iquac y, tepaxotla in tlamacazque, quinpaxotla in telpopuchti, in telpuchpipil: yoan yn oc vel pipinotôti, yn coçolco onoque: ynic quinpaxotla ymelpan, ymelchiquippan, yoan nenetec ymacolpan, yoan inmatzotzopazpan: [304]

çan yio iquac y, in muchiouia, yn ipan tzoxcatl: apeoalco, cexiuhtica ic ontlatzonquiça.

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19. Itzteucale, ". . . que quiere decir: Ojos del Señor de la Casa Divina, ó del Señor Divino de la Casa: y por otro nombre Tlacapehua (sic), que es nombre del otro Dios, compañero de este Huitzilopochtli, cada imagen era este Camino, llamado también Tetzcatlipoca, que quiere decir: Hermano menor, por quanto servian por mitad à Huitzilopochtli. Estos dos Mancebos . . . el dedicado à Tezcatlipoca, y este consagrado à Huitzilopochtli, cuidaban juntos todo el Año de su Servicio, pero el Sacrificio de este Dios: pero unas muchas diferencias entre los dos: porque el que representaba à Tezcatlipoca, ò Titlacahuan, adorabanle, y reconocianle como à Dios, à causa à imagen de aquel Dios . . . y à este, llamado Huitzilopochtli, no adorabanle, ni reconocen con este respecto. . . ."—Juan de Torquemada: *Segunda parte de los veinticinco libros rituales i monarchia indiana* (Madrid: Nicolas Rodriguez Franco, 1723), p. 288.

20. Tlacauepan Cuecuenoc: "*Este tambien de la guerra, hermano menor y compañero de Huitzilopochtli. . . . Donde tuvo este nombre solo sabe Dios que lo tuvo de Tezcatlipoca*" (Chavero, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 99).

X 796 **Twenty-fifth Chapter, which telleth of the feast and of the offerings which they made upon the feast day of the sixth month, which was called Etzalqualiztli.**[1]

Etzalqualiztli: Before the arrival of this feast, which was celebrated, first the priests fasted for the rain god. Before the four days of their fast began, first they gathered reeds there at Citlaltepec. For verily [137] **at that place were formed very long reeds called *aztapilin* or *tolmimilli*[2]—very long, very high, and very white at the roots; and rounded, like a stone column.**

And these they pulled up, cutting them at their white ends, at a place in the water called Temilco, or Tepexic Oztoc.

And when they had plucked them, thereupon they arranged them, they tied them in bundles, they bound them up in their capes, they girt the bundles of reeds in their capes.

[482] **Thereupon they took up [each bundle] in a tump line; they took them up in tump lines. Then [the reeds] were borne upon their backs, carried in the tump lines. And so they lifted up [the reeds]: they were lifted, and [the priests] departed; the departure was made, and they went on their way. None carried the reeds crosswise upon their backs; all bore them quite upright upon their backs.**

X 796 ●688 **And when the priests went to pluck the reeds, and when they returned, the road [which they followed] was deserted. No others took [the path]; travelers followed it no more.**

And if they came upon any men, then they despoiled them of their possessions, they robbed them, they stripped them, they wrested from them all that they had; they snatched away their goods. And if these defended themselves, then [the priests] abused them: they threw them upon the ground, they

Jnic cenpoalli onmacuilli capitulo, itechpa tlatoa yn ilhujtl, yoan yn jxtlamanaliz in quichioaia, yn ipan ic cemilhujtl, ynic chiquacen metztli, in motenehoaia Etzalqualiztli.

Etzalqualiztli: ynin ilhujtl, yn aiamo onazioa, in ipan muchioaia: achtopa motlalocaçaoaia in tlamacazque: nahuilvitl yn aiamo vmpeoa, inneçaoaliz achtopa ontolanaia, vmpa in citlaltepec: iehica ca cenca viiac yn vmpa muchioaia tullin, itoca aztapilin, anoço tolmjmjlli: cenca viac, cenca vitlaxtic, yoan cenca tzinizxtac: yoan mjmjltic temjmjltic.

Auh yn vmpa conanaia, qujtzcopina, itocaiocan in atlan, temjlco, tepexic, oztoc:

auh yn oconanque, njmã ie ic qujchichioa, qujcujcujtlalpia, qujqujmiloa, qujtotolqujmjloa:

njman ie ic qujnecapallotia, qujmemecapallotia, njman netlamamaltilo, tlamamalo, tlaixquamamalo: njman ie ic oaleoa, oaleoalo, viloaxtz, aiac qujxtlapalmama yn aztapili, çan moch quenacamama.

Auh ynjc vih tolanazque, tlamacazque, yoan inic oalmocuepa, cactimoquetza in vtli, aocac qujtoca, aocmo qujtoca in nenenque:

auh yntla acame oqujnnamjcque, njman vncan qujntlacujcujlia, qujntlanamoielia, qujntlacencujlia, qujntlatlaçaltia: auh intla momapotla, njman qujnmjctia, qujnterentimaiauj, qujmihicça qujntitlicça, impan chocholoa, tlalli ic qujujujequj, qujntlatlal-

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1. Sahagún (Robredo ed., Vol. I, p. 92) says: "*Auian una manera de puchas, o panecillos, que se llaman etzalli*"; and in *ibid.*, p. 149, "*una etzalli era hecha de maiz cocido, a manera de arroz, y era muy amarillo.*" Durán, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 210, declares etzalli to be boiled corn and beans. Peñafiel y Troncoso (*op. cit.*, p. 116), in his interpretation of the *Codex Borbonicus*' account of this month, states: "*Los panecillos de etzalli hechos de frijol, cuyas semillas negras tenían allí sobre la cascara, y de maiz, cuyos granos blancos alternan con los otros negros.*" Seler (*Einige Kapitel*, p. 112) has *Bohnenpfannkuchen* for Etzalqualiztli. Clark (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 89) regards Etzalqualiztli as derived from *etl* (bean), *tzalan* (among), and *qualiztli* (eating). In "Relación breve," p. 298, Garibay has "*Comida de maiuar de frijoles*," and in his *Llave del nahuatl* vocabulary, "*comida de puchas.*"

[221] 565 Tovar (Kohler and Gómez, *op. cit.*, p. 25) identifies the beans of this month as those of the working people and lower class, now raising other agricultural work. Hence the offering of etzalli to them.

2. In the Spanish text, Sahagún translates *aztapilcatl* as "*penaues largandes de juncias blancas y verdes.*" Tolmimilli, in the Robredo edition, Vol. III, p. 272, n. 6 kind of juncia. Seler, in *Collected Works*, Vol. II, Pt. 3, p. 53, equates *aztapilcatl* with *cuitapilin*, and quotes Molina ("*junco largo, gordo y redondo*"). Jourdanet and Simeón, in their translation (p. 104, n. 3) write that it is the equivalent of *cuitapilin*, "*de cuezi, tige de maïs vert, ce pédi, principal, grand*"; of *tolmimilli*, they write: "*sorte de tuliin, jonc, et maïs, chaume couleur*" (*loc. cit.*).

stamped upon them, they trampled upon their outstretched bodies, they jumped upon them; they beat them [as they lay stretched] on the ground; they dragged them along; they made them cry out; they beat them—they beat their backs; they beat them sorely; they kicked them as they fled away.

And when these had been robbed, when they had been stripped, then they [could] only turn back, they [could] only go back to their homes.

[For] even if [that which was taken] was verily tribute, even this [the priests] took. Moctezuma was not wrathful therefor. For they [who robbed] were penitents; he held them in reverence; he feared them because they were priests, because they did penances and laid offerings before [the gods]; for they were priests.

And when they had arrived [at the temple], when the white reeds[3] had been brought, thereupon were sewn together and woven these reeds. They fashioned green and white mats[4] of the reeds, and, binding the reeds, they made stools, and they made seats with backs on which men might rest. In the same manner were fashioned, with the green and white reeds, seats with backs.

Thereupon they bound some thin reeds in a bundle. And when they had tied them in a bunch, then they were arranged in order, sewed, girt tightly, on the ground, with *maguey* roots, with fibers of *maguey*.

And when this had been done, then began the fasting in honor of Tlaloc. When night fell, then the priests all gathered in the priests' dwellings—the warrior-priests [who had taken three or four captives], and the priests [who had captured only one];[5] then those priests who were singers and beaters [of drums]; then all the lesser priests, and those who were yet children, the novice priests.

And when this had come to pass, then were spread upon the ground before the fire the [white and green] mats, the reed beds.

And when they had spread out the reed mats, the fire priest arrayed himself. He put on his sleeveless jacket and placed on his left arm [the maniple] called *matacaxtli*.[6]

And with it he took the incense bag, and he took his incense burner [in his right hand]. Thereupon

mecamauj, quintzatzatzitia, quinoujujtequj, quincujtlaujujtequj, quixipetlavitequj, quincujtlamelaoa.

Auh yn ontlacujcujliloque, yn onpepetlaoaloque, çan vncan mocuepa, çan vncan iloti yn jnchan:

in tlanéllacalaqujlli, vel qujcuja, amo ic qualanja in Motecuçoma ichica ca tlamaceuhque, compopoa contepopoaltiaia, quipopooaia ynjc tlamacazque, ynic tlamaceoa, ymixco ymicpac qujmanaia, ynic tlamacazque.

Auh yn cacico, yn ocaxitico aztapili: njman ic ic moço, moçoço, in aztapili: qujchioa yn aztapilpetlatl, yoan qujilpia in toli, tolicpalli qujchioaia, yoan qujchioaia tepotzoiepalli netlaxonj: çanoie ic muchioa in aztapili, aztapiltepotzoicpalli.

Niman ie ic acquj qujcujcujtlalpia, in tuli in tulpitzaoac: auh yn omocujcujtlalpi, njman ie ic mouipana, tlalpan molpitiuh, mocacatzilpitiuh menelhoatica metzonmecatica.

Auh in ie iuhquj in ie vmpeoaz, netlalocaçaoalizcli: yn oiooac njman mocacaltema, necacaltemalon tlamacazque: in tlamacazcatequjoaque tlamacazcayiaque: njman ichoan in tlamacazque cujcanjme, tlaujtequjnj: njman ie muchintin, in tlamacazcateicaoan, yoan in oc pipiltotonti tlamacazcatoton, tlamacatoto.

Auh in ie iuhquj, njman ie ic onmoteca, tlecujlixquac, in aztapilpetlatl, in aztapilpepechtli:

auh yn onmoçouh aztapilpetlatl: njman ic muchichioa in tlenamacac, conmaquja yn ixicol, yoan conaquja yn iopuchcopa, itoca matacaxtli:

yoan itlan conana in copalxiquipilli, yoan concuj

3. Sahagún's Spanish text specifies of these reeds: "todo lo ſ eſto de otro del agua, es muy blanco."
4. In *loc. cit.*, Sahagún states that the reeds were sharpened (probably bottom to top): "Luego las cortan, y rompenjan, cortapuntas, y cortapuntas, la blanca a la verde; a manera de manera pintadas." Eleven lines, he refers to "puntas pequeñas, de manera blancas y verdes."
5. The number of captives is explained in *loc. cit.*
6. Cf. Anderson and Dibble, *op. cit.*, p. 1, n. 8.

X 796 **Thirty-third Chapter,** in which are described the feasts and sacrifices which they offered as a service; which they performed in the days of the fourteenth month, which was called Quecholli.[1]

The fourteenth feast day was called Quecholli.

When Tepeilhuitl ended, nothing was done for another five days. All was quiet.

And when the five days had passed, upon the next day all offered reeds [for arrows]; each seasoned [482] warrior took a load upon his back (those of Tenochtitlan and those of Tlatelulco). They all offered the reeds at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. And when they had been offered, then they came carrying them and bore them upon their shoulders [to their homes].

[441] And upon the morrow, once again all departed to the courtyard of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli, that the reeds might be straightened in the fire. The reeds were to be straightened in the fire. Only this did they do. And when they had straightened [the reeds] in the fire, again they bore them away and went off with their burdens.

And on the third day, [when] once more all departed, the canes were brought. All came together—seasoned warriors, youths, young men of marriage-
X 796 able age. And the small boys they took up [the
785 pyramid to the] temple, where they sat blowing their shell trumpets and being bled. They cut their ears, pressed out the blood, and anointed their temples [224] [with it]. It was said: "The deer are [anointed] with blood." They fasted for the deer, that they might hunt [them].

And when they assembled in the temple courtyard, those of Tenochtitlan were spread on one side, those of Tlatelulco on the other. Thereupon were made arrows. It was said: "They form the arrows, or their [bolts of] oak."

X 796 785 688 And when arrows were being formed, all did penances; all the men drew blood. And if any were seen

Injc cempoalli ōmatlactli omei capitulo: vncan moteneoa in ilhujtl, yoā in nextlaoalli, injc tlacotia: in qujchioaia, in jpā ic cemjlhujtl, ic matlactetl on navi metztli, in moteneoaia, Quecholli.

Injc matlactetl on navi ilhujtl: ichoatl in moteneoa Quecholli:

in ōquiz tepeilhujtl, oc macujlilhujtl in aiatle mochioaia, çan oc cactimanj:

auh in ōquiz macujlilhujtl: in jmuztlaioc, vncā in neacamaco, cecen tlamamalli in conanaia tequjoaque, in Tenuchtitlan, in Tlatilulco: in neacamacoia, vncā in icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli: auh in ōnemacoc, njmā ic qujitqujtze qujquequechpanoa.

Auh in jmuztlaioc, ic no cē, pa ic viloa in jitoalco Vitzilobuchtli, tlatlemelaoaloz, motlemelaoaz in acatl: çan oc ixqujch, in muchioaia y: auh in vmmotlemelauh, oc ceppa çan no oalmotquj, oc ceppa intlatquj oalietiuh.

Auh injc eilhujtl, no ceppa viloa, mootequj in acatl, vel ixqujch cemolinj, in tequjoaque in telpuchtli, in tlapalivi: auh in oquichpipiltotonti, qujtlelecavia in teucalli, vncā tlatlapiztoque, yoan mjçotoque: qujtequj in innacaz, in jmeztço compatzca, incanaoacā conalaoa: mjtoaia, momaçaiço, qujnneçaviliaia in mamaça, injc amjoaz.

Auh in jocēqujxoato teuitoalco: cecnj moteca in tenuchca, cecnj moteca in Tlatilulca: njmā ic ic muchioa in mjtl: mjtoaia tlacati in tlacochtli, anoço yiaoaio.

Auh in jquac tlacatia, tlacochtli: neçaoaloia, qujneçaviliaia, ixqujch tlacatl, mjçoia: auh in aquj itto,

1. "Precious Feathers" is suggested by Garibay (*op. cit.*, p. 309). Clavigero (*op. cit.*, pp. 147-8) states that the month was named for the bird of fine plumage seen at that time on the lake shores; Torquemada (*op. cit.*, p. 280) writes similarly— ". . . *nombre de un Pauaro de plumas azul, y colorado, que ai en esta Tierra, en especial en estas manantiales, y ojos de Agua, que ai junto del Pueblo de Quecholac*"; see also p. 299. Durán (*op. cit.*, II, p. 297) refers to Quecholli as *flecha arrapadiza*.

Tovar, while mentioning the bird of rich plumage, adds that captains raised their banners and performed warlike exercises. He describes it as a month of unrest and disturbance (Kubler and Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

who did not draw his blood, they stripped him, nevermore restoring his cape to him. The overseers took it from him for good.

And when the arrows were being formed, no [man] lay with a woman. And the old men drank no wine; they became not drunk; they abstained and left the wine alone.

And when arrows were made, they brought out their measure; all were made of equal length. And the arrow-points were of equal length. None were larger than others; nothing was joined to them.

Thereupon, [when] the reed [shafts] were cut, they went to put them into the hands of those who fitted and put on the arrow-points. Securely they tied the [ends of] the reeds, binding them well with *magucy* fibres, so that the arrow shafts would not split back. They set [the points] in glue,[2] so that they were held fast, so that they were well embedded.

And when they had [thus] prepared them, then they applied pine pitch to the heads and the ends. This was done quite quickly.

And when they were finished, thereupon they were bound together; they tied them in [bundles of] twenty. And when they were assembled, then everyone was arranged in rows, all ordered in line, in procession, to leave [the bundles] there at the foot of [the Temple of] Uitzilopochtli. There they heaped [the bundles] together. And when they had come to make [this] offering, then all departed [to their homes].

And the fourth day was called "Arrows are made for the homes." All men made arrows in their homes. Thus all passed the time; thus all tried [their skill] and practised, having set up, at a distance, [the leaf of a] *magucy* plant, which they shot with arrows. Hence were apparent those who were good marksmen, the able bowmen, those who could well wield the bow.

And upon the fifth day, one was concerned only with the dead. For them they made small arrows, each one measuring a hand's length, and put upon them only a little resin. And their points were only sticks. They bound four arrows and four pine torches with loose cotton thread, and laid them where the dead lay buried. And they placed [there] two sweet *tamales*. There [they remained] all day. And at sundown they thereupon burned them for [the dead] in the same place. There they set them on fire.

2. Cf. Sahagún (Robredo ed.), Vol. III, pp. 341, 398.

in amo mjco qujpepetlaoaia, aocmo qujmaca in jtilma, iccen qujtqujlia in tepãmanj.

Auh in jquac tlacatia mjtl, aiac cioacochia: auh in vevetque, amo quja in vctli, amo tlaoanaia, motlacaoaltiaia, qujmocaoaltiaia in vctli.

Auh in muchioaia mjtl, oalqujça itamachiuhca, çan muchixqujch, in muchioaia: auh in tlaxichtli, çã muchixqujch, atle chicoviac, atle tlapatiliaia:

njmã ie ic tlateco in acatl, inmac qujoallaztivi, in tlatlaxichaquja in qujtlaxichaquja, vel qujchtecuja in acatl, vel ichtica qujtetecuja, injc amo cujtlatzaianjz in tlaxichtli: tzacupã in cõquetza, injc vel tilinjz, injc vel tzitzicaz.

Auh in ocõcençauhque: njmã ie ic cocotzovia, in jquac, yoan itzintlan, çan iciuhcã muchioa.

Auh in oiecauh, njmã ie ic tlacujtlalpilo, cecempoalli in mocujtlalpia: auh in otlacenqujz, njmã ie ic onnetecpanalo, onnevipanolo, oncempantica in mocaoaz in vmpa icxitlan Vitzilobuchtli, vncan concentecpichoa: auh in õmomamanato, njmã ic viviloa.

Auh injc navilhujtl, mjtoaia, calpãnemjtilo, ixquich tlacatl momjtiaia intechachan, çan iuhquj injc neaviltilo, tel ic neiciecoloia, ic nemamachtiloia: ce vecа qujoalquetzaia metl, qujmjmjna, vncan neci in aqujque vel qujmaiavi, in vel momaimati, in vellamjna.

Auh injc macujlilhujtl, ça mjxcaviaia in mjmjcque, qujnchichiviliaia, mjtotonti, çeçemjztitl, no achitoton ic conoocotzovia: auh in jtlaxichio, çan tlacotl: navi mjtl, no navi ocotl, concujtlalpia ica potonquj, impã contetema, in vncan toctitoque, mjmjcque: yoan ontetl tzopelic tamalli, contetema, vncan oemjlhujtia: auh in ie oncalaquj tonatiuh, njman ie ic qujntlatlatilia, in çan ie no vncan: vncan contlecavia:

Here is described a feast which was observed every eight years.

For Atamalqualiztli (the eating of water *tamales*) came to be observed every eight years. At times it was observed [in the month of] Quecholli; or at times it was observed [in the month of] Tepeilhuitl.

For seven days all fasted. Only water *tamales*, soaked in water, were eaten, without *chili*, without salt, with neither saltpeter nor lime. And they were eaten [only] at midday.

And he who fasted not at this time, if he were noted, was then punished. And much was this, the eating of water *tamales*, hallowed. And he who did not this, if he were not seen nor noted, it was said,—he was visited with the itch.

And when the feast arrived, it was said: "Ashes are put on faces," and "They are [bedight with] sea shells."[6] And it was when indeed all the gods danced. Thus, it was named the dance of the gods.

And all came forth [as] humming birds, butterflies, honeybees, flies, birds, giant horned beetles, black beetles—those forms men took; in these guises they came dancing.

And still others were in the guise of sleep. [Some had] garlands of fruit *tamales*; birds' flesh [*tamales* formed yet others'] garlands. And before them was the maize bin, filled with fruit *tamales*.

And also all [these] appeared—those who played the rôles of the poor, those who sold vegetables, those who sold wood. Also appeared one in the guise of a leper. And still more took the forms of birds, large owls, screech owls.[7] And even other [birds] they counterfeited.

And [an image of] Tlaloc was set in place. Before him was [a vessel of] water. It was full of serpents and frogs. And they who were called *Maçateca* swallowed the serpents [while still] full alive. Each one severally held them only in their mouths, not with their hands. They took them only in their teeth, when they seized them in the water, there before

Nican mitoa, yn ilhujtl: in chichicuexiuhtica muchioaia. 796[X]

Auh yn atamalqualiztli, chicuexiuhtica in muchiuhtiuja: in quenmanjan ipan in muchioaia quecholli: auh anoço quenmanjan ipan in tepeilhujtl muchioaia.

Chicomjlhujtl, in neçaoaloia: çan tlapactli atamalli, in moquaia, amo chillo, amo iztaio, amono tequjxqujo, amono tenexio: a[illegible]h tlacatlaqualoia. [795] [262]

Auh yn aqujn amo moçaoaia yn ipan jn, intla machoia, njman tzacujltiloia: auh cenca ymacaxoia y, in atamalqualiztli: auh yn aqujn amo qujchioaia, intlacamo ittoa, anoço machoia, qujlmach xixitiotia. [688]

Auh yn jquac ilhujtl qujçaia, moteneoa ixnextioa, yoan atecuculetioaia: yoan yn jquac cenca muchintin mjttotiaia in teteu: ic mjtoaia, teuittotiloia:

yoan ixq'ch vncan oalnecia in vitzitzilin papalotl, in xicotli, in çaiolin in tototl, in temoli, tecujtlaololo: yn ipan moqujxtiaia tlaca, yn ipan oalmjtotiaia. [535]

Auh yn oc cequjntin ipan moqujxtiaia in cochiztli, in xocotamalcozquj, yoan totolnacatl yn jncozquj: yoan ymjxpan yeaca, in tonacacuezcomatl, tenticac in xocotamalli. [262]

Auh no muchi vncan oalnecia, yn ipan moq'xtiaia in motolinja, yn motequjqujlnamaqujlia, yn nipiequaquauhnamaqujlilia: no yoan vncan oalnecia, in teucocoxquj ypan moqujxtiaia: yoan yn oc cequjntin totome, in teculutl, in chichtli ipan qujçaia: yoan oc cequj ipan moqujxtiaia. [463]

Auh motlaliaia in tlaloc, ixpan mãca yn atl, vncan temja in cocoa, yoan in cueiame, yoan in iehoantin moteneoa, maçateca, vncan qujntoloaia in cocoa, çan ioioltiuja, cecciaca, incamatica in qujmonanaia, amo inmatica: çan qujmontlanquechiaia, ynjc qujmon- 796[X]

6. Cuevas ("Relación breve," p. 319) translates *tzauxinque* as "*se cauvaion la cara.*" *Ahuxcalcinque* appears in the same text, translated as "*se lauoient visage ahors del eaue.*" Cf., however, *auxcalli* in Molina, *op. cit.*

7. *Tecolotl: buho; chuchitl: lechuza* (*loc. cit.*). Cf. also Clark, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 117, and Angel María Garibay K. in *Tlalocan*, Vol. I, p. 309.

The Iztac Ciuatl Ciuaquacuilli.

793 The Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli also kept watch there and took care of the [Temple of] Atenchicalcan; and she was in charge of the sweeping and the laying of fires [there]. And any who made supplications [to the goddess] spoke to the Iztac ciuatl ciuaquacuilli. This one determined all that was done here at [the Temple of] Atenchicalcan.

Cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl.

In cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl çā no vmpa tlapiaia, vmpa tlamocujtlavjaia in atenchicalcan yoan ipan tlatovaia in tlachpanalizt̄lj in tletlaliliztli, yoan in aqujn vmpa monetoltiaia, iehoatl conilhujaia in cihoaquacujlli iztac cihoatl, mvchi iehoatl quitzontequja in tlein vncan muchivaia atenchicalcā.

The Keeper of the God Ixcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco.

The duties of the Keeper of the God Izcoçauhqui, at Tzonmolco, [concerned] the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli. He caused it to be cried abroad that it be gathered in the forests. And those who gathered it were only those youths whose right it was [to gather it]. And when they had gathered the wood of the god Xiuhtecutli, they piled it up in the priests' dwelling at Tzonmolco.

Iscoçauhquj tzōmvlco teuhoa.

In jscoçauhquj tzōmulco teuhoa itequjuh catca, in xjuhtecuquavitl, qujtzatziliaia injc mocujtiuh quauhtla, auh in concuja çan iehoantin in telpupuchtin intequjuh catca, auh in oqujcujto xiuhtequavitl, vmpa conquetzaia in tzōmulco calmecac.

Tlaçolquacuilli.

The Tlaçolquacuilli was charged that he should guard and take care of [the Temple of] Mecatlan. And he put on his sleeveless jacket, and he had his gourd for tobacco. Much did he venerate the Temple here at Mecatlan. None might urinate here; and if anyone did urinate here, then they seized him and brought him within. There they punished him and drew blood from him.

514 688

Tlaçolquacujlli.

In tlaçolquacujlli, itequjuh catca, vncan tlapiaia, vncan tlamocujtlavjaia in mecatlan, auh in qujmaqujaia, ixicpl yietecōton ietinemj, cenca tlamavizotiaia in teupan, in vncan mecatlā, aiac vncan maxixaia, auh in aqujn vncan omaxix, njman qujtzitzqujaia, qujcalaqujaia calitic, vmpa quitlatzacujltiaia qujçoçoia.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco.

The Keeper of the God at Tecpantzinco guarded and cared for [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco. And his task was to have charge of the offerings. He caused it to be cried abroad that offerings be made here at [the Temple of] Tecpantzinco.

Tecpantzinco teuhoa.

In tecpantzinco teuhoa, vncā tlapiaia, tlamocujtlavjaia in tecpātzinco, yoan itequjuh catca ipan tlatovaia in ventl̄i qujtzatziliti̇a injc tlamanaloz vncan tecpātzinco.

Epcoaquacuilli Tepictoton.

793 532 The Epcoaquacuilli tepictoton was concerned with the songs. When anyone molded figures [of the mountain gods], he consulted with him that he

Epcoaquacujlli tepictotō.

In Epcoaquacujlli tepictoton ipā tlatovaia in cujcatl, iquac in aqujn tepiquiz iehoatl iehoatl conilhujaia in qujmisquetzaz, qujnnavatiz in cujcanjme,

4: Sahagún. M-5 (1529-1590) 1952 NU7 Aztec NU7

into the forest, or on the desert, or into the water. A younger one, or whosoever wished, went perhaps half a league to place the spines. [The penitent] bore his shell trumpet and went blowing [it] where he placed the thorns. Wherever he came to be, he went blowing a trumpet.

vitztlalia, itecciz ictiuh, tlapitztiuh, in canj yn evitztlaliaia, yn oacito vmpa oallapitztiuh.

Sixth: When the priests slept, no two lay [together]. All lay quite separate. None were covered together.

Jnjc. 6. ynjc cochia tlamacazque, aiac vme temj, çan muchintin, mixcavitoque, aiac monepan tlaquentia.

Seventh: The food they prepared for themselves, together; for it was their own food which they ate. And if anyone returned with food from his house, he ate it not alone.

Jnjc. 7. çan mocenchioaia in tlaqualli, in quiquaia, ça oncatca in jnneuhia, in quiquaia. auh intla haca conmacaia ical itlaqual amo ẏioca conqua.

Eighth: At midnight, when, as was said, night divided in half, everyone arose and prayed. If anyone failed to do so because he slept, if he did not awake, then, for this, all gathered together and drew blood from his ears, or his breast, or his thighs, or the calves of his legs. Because of this, fear verily fell [upon the people].

Jnjc. 8. in iooalnepantla in iquac mjtoa iooalli xellivi, muchi tlacatl meoaia tlatlatlauhtiaia, yn aquin tlacochcaoa, yn amo hiça njman ica necentlalilo, quiçoçoia ynacaztitech, ẏielpan, ẏmetzpan, itlanitzco vel ica maviztli vetzi.

Ninth: None then were proud; none then were unruly. All lived well ordered [lives]. If at times it appeared that one perhaps drank wine, or was given to women, or committed a great [fault], then they went to apprehend him. No mercy was shown. He was burned, or strangled, or cast into the fire alive or shot with arrows. And if he sinned only lightly, they drew blood from his ears, his flanks, or his thighs with *maguey* spines or with a [sharpened] bone.

Jnjc. 9. çã njmã aiac tlacuecuenoviaia, ça njman aiac mocuecuetzoaia, vellatecpanpa yn nemoaia, intla ça nen quenman necia aço vctli qui, aço cioapotza, in anoço itla vej quichioa, njman quitzacutivia, amo tlaoculiloia, tlecujlolo, anoço mecanilo, anoço tlecujlolo ioioltoc, anoço mimino, yn çan tepiton quitlacoa quiçoçoa yn inacazco, in jiomotla in imetzpa, vitztica, anoço omitica.

Tenth: The small boys were so raised that if they did nothing of great evil, they then drew blood from their ears, or switched them with nettles.

Jnjc. 10. in pipiltotonti ic oapaoallo, çan njman atle vel conitlacoa, njman quinçoço in inacazco, anoço quintzitzicazvia.

Eleventh: At midnight the principal [priests] went down into the water and bathed there in the water.

Jnjc. ii. in iooalnepãtla apantemoia in ie tachcaoa, atlꝰ õmaltiaia.

Twelfth: When it was a time of fasting, everyone observed it. Verily, [only] at the moment when midday arrived did indeed all eat—even the small boys. And when it was the fast which they name Atamalqualo, then they ate but sparingly.[2a] Some ate [only] at midnight and yet again went to eat at midnight; some ate at noon, and yet again went to eat at noon. No *chili*, no salt did they eat; neither, that they might sleep, [did they] even [drink] water. They said that the fast was broken if they ate or drank even a little.

Jnjc. 12. yn iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli, vel muchintin quipiaia, vel iquac yn oacic nepantla tonatiuh tlaquaia vel muchintin in pipiltotonti. auh in iquac oncatca neçaoaliztli in quilhuja atamalqualo, njman amo tlapaloa, cequjntin iooalnepãtla in tlaquaia, oc no iooalnepãtla in tlaquatiuh cequjntin nepantla tonatiuh in tlaqua, oc no muztla nepantla tonatiuh in tlaquatiuh, atle chilli atle iztatl quiquaia, ano de ic cochi in manel atl, quitoa moneçaoalhujltequi intla itlaton cõqua, conj.

Thirteenth: Very carefully were they taught good discourse. If one spoke not well, if one greeted others

Jnjc. 13. cenca vel nemachtiloia in qualli tlatolli,

2a. "Thapaloa, vi. comer el pan con[mal] passado, quando ayunan" (Molina, *op. cit.*).

with eagle down — with tufts of feathers. It was called *tewaelli*. And the shield banner was painted like the blood banner. And his four arrows he held together with his shield. And his left arm band was hanging from his arm; it was composed of [strips of] coyote fur, and from it hung paper cut in strips.

And when dawn broke, when it was now the feast day, early in the morning, then those who had made vows before him unwrapped him. Before him they stood in one row and offered him incense; before him they laid all manner of gifts — feast foods, rolls of amaranth seed dough. And this was when they had not yet taken him up and elevated him to Itepeyoc. And all the men, the young, seasoned warriors, were as if determined and eager to proceed with and observe the feast, and thus show, exhibit proudly, and demonstrate it to the Spaniards.

All hastened and ran, as they made their way toward the temple courtyard, in order there to dance the winding dance. And when all had assembled, then the start was made; then began the chanting and the winding dance. And those who had fasted twenty days, and[9] those who had fasted a year, stood aside facing the others. Those who hemmed in [the dancers had] their pine cudgels; whosoever tried to leave [the dance] they menaced with the pine cudgels. But one who would [leave to] urinate took off his net cape and his forked heron feather ornament. But one who did not at once obey, who would not be excluded, or who was mischievous, they soundly beat his back therefor, [or] his thighs, [or] his shoulders, and thrust him outside. They cast him out by force; they threw him on his face — he went falling on his face; he fell forth on his ear. No one in their hold took his leave.

The elder brothers of Uitzilopochtli — those who had fasted for a year — were much feared, looked upon with terror and awe, and dreaded. And those at the head, the great leaders, the participants, might leave. They did not detain them. Yet all the small boys, those with the lock of hair at the back of the head, with the back lock of hair, and those with the jar-shaped hair dress — they who had taken a captive with others' help, — the leaders, those called leaders of young men, who were unmarried, who had gone [to war] to take one or two [captives], they also held away. They said to them: "Go along there, knaves! You shall give a good example! Appear not before us!"

9. *Vnan* is repeated in the MS.

796
778
[293]

Auh in otlatvic in ie ilhujuh ipan, in ioatzinco ie ic quixtlapoa in jvic monetoltia, ixpan oncenpanti quitlenamaquilia, ixpan qujmana in izqujcan ventli in tlacatlaqualli, in tzoalilacatzolli. Auh in jquac in, aocmo quitlecavique, aocmo cacoqujxtique in itepeioc: auh in ixquich tlacatl in telpopochtequjoaque iuhqujn nececẽquetzalo, iuhqujn in ioiolipã in jlhujtlazque, in ilhujtlamatizque, inje quintlattitizque, quintlamaviçoltizq̃, quintlaixtlatizque, in Españoles:

796
778
535
[785]
[292]
514
[688]

tlatotoca, netlalolo, vmpa itztiova in teuitoalco, injc vmpa nococololoz. Auh in ococenquixoac: njmã ie ic peoalo, ie ic vmpeoa in cujco yoan nococololoz. Auh in mocenpoalçauhque, yoan yoan in mocexiuhçauhque nepan jxtinemj: in tetzaqua imoocoquauh, in aqujn qujçaznequj ic quitlaiciecalhuja in ococuavitl: auh in aqujn maxixaz quitlalitiuh icuechi, yoan iazmarel. Auh in aqujn çan njman atlatlacamati, in amo tetlaçaltoca in aquen tlatta, vel ic qujcujtlavitequj, qujmetzvitequj, caculhujtequj, caliticpa contopeoa, conchiccanaoa, conixiquetza, mjhixiquetztiuh, nanacazitztiuh aiac temacnacoti:

796
778
[785]
[302]

cenca iehoã tlamamauhtiaia, tlamauhtiaia, cemjmacaxoa, cemjmacaxtincatca in jachvan vitzilobuchtli in mocexiuhçauhque. Auh in tlaiacatia in vevei tachcavan, in vevei chiva tel huel qujçaia, amo qujntzacujliaia: auh in ie ixquich telputzintli, in cuexpaltzine in cuexpaltzitzineque, yoan in tzotzocoleque, in tepallamanj, in yiaque: in moteneoa in telpuchiaque, in ce ic nemj, in ce cacitinemj, in anoço vme cacitinemj no qujntzaquaia: qujmjlhujaia, vmpa xiviã on nocne, anquitteittitia, amo techitto.

[p. 52 is blank]

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

to a class of thefts and other similar offenses, committed against worship or "medicine."

Any attempt at seduction of a female who had taken the pledge of chastity in behalf of medicine, was most cruelly punished, both in the persons of the seducer and the female; and if a medicine-man broke his vows, he suffered a horrible death.[138]

We have already mentioned that it was a capital crime on the part of a warrior to take for himself a prisoner of war secured by another.[139] Such cases occurred only during an engagement or immediately after it. Why an action of that kind should entail so rigorous a punishment can be easily inferred, if we recollect that a captive of that kind became at once sacred — an object of medicine. No return could atone for the offence, since it had been committed against the "rites of worship," one of the kin's most sacred and important attributes. Under the same head must be placed the capital punishment of such as wrongfully appropriated to themselves gold or silver. Both of these metals were regarded as objects of medicine, and whoever seized them unlawfully, committed a crime against worship also.[140]

Santiago de México," 2d Edition, 1625, Lib. I, cap. XXVI, p. 83): "Si muere alguno dellos con deudas, como si los deudos las heredassen por parecerse deudas y deudas en el nombre, procuran luego entre los parientes pagarlas, porque el anima de su difunto no dilate la entrada en el cielo. Y si no tienen caudal para pagar, procuran que se perdone la deuda, y sino salen con esta traça, se dan luego todos en servicio al acreedor hasta que del todo se pague lo que el difunto devia. Viviendo yo en el colegio de San Luys de predicadores el año de 1586, sucedió morir un Indio que trabajaua en aquel sumptuoso edificio, y era muy diestro cantero; auia recibido dineros adelantados, y quando murió quedava deviendo veynte pesos, ó reales de á ocho. Viniéron luego al colegio los parientes reconociendo la deuda, y pidiendo que los ocupasen en servicio del colegio, para que se descontasse lo que su defunto denia. No se les dana mucho a los padres del colegio por cobrar estos dineros; porque demas de ser pocos no parecia que auia modo para cobrarlos; y mas por acudir á la devocion de los deudos, le dixéron á uno, que viniesse á trabajar en la huerta. Era marauilloso el cuydado del Indio, ansi en venir cada dia, como en venir muy de mañana; y preguntandole un religioso la causa de su cuydado, dixo, que le tenia porque su pariente se fuesse al cielo, y desde alla le ayudasse con Dios, y no estuviesse en el infierno chiquito, que los predicadores llaman purgatorio."

My friend Col. F. Hecker, to whom I communicated the above, at once recognized in it an analogue to the ancient Teutonic "*Gesammt-Burgschaft*." He called my attention to the remarkable organization of the Germans. Compare *Luden* ("*Geschichte*," etc., Vol. I, p. 502), which valuable source I also owe to the kindness of the distinguished German jurist.

[138] In regard to "priests" it is also stated that they were merely degraded and cast away; but this is hardly probable since, the higher the position of the culprit, the severer was his punishment.

[139] Compare also *H. H. Bancroft* (Vol. II, p. 419). *Prescott* ("*Conquest*," Book I, chapter II, p. 47).

[140] *Mendieta* (Lib. II, cap. XXIX, p. 138). *Vetancurt* (Vol. I, p. 484): "Al que hurtaba